UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

SENATE

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1939

The second session of the Seventy-sixth Congress met this day at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, in pursuance of the proclamation of the President of the United States of the 13th day of September 1939.

JOHN NANCE GARNER, of the State of Texas, Vice President of the United States, called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock meridian

The Chaplain, Rev. Z@Barney T. Phillips, D. D., of the city of Washington, offered the following

PRAYER

Almighty God and Heavenly Father, Ruler of the destinies of nations, who hast called us to share with Thee in the order and government of the world, help us to realize the sacred obligations of this hour, for the fulfillment of which we invoke Thy Spirit's guidance as we face the problems of our saddened world with its ever-deepening shadows. Grant that, being undismayed by the futile reign of circumstance, keeping our minds free from the wanton tyranny that seems to rule man's outward life, we may rededicate ourselves to Thee, and, impassioned with a high and holy purpose, we may use our gifts only for Thy glory and the welfare of mankind.

O Master of Men, Thou Pattern of Gentleness, by the prophet's dream of old, hasten the time when war shall be no more; by the angels' song of peace, raise up leaders of good will and stay the hand of hate; by the Kingdom Thou hast promised, come and rule the hearts of men and set Thy people free. In Thy dear name and for Thy sake we ask it. Amen.

PROCLAMATION

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the proclamation of the President convening the Congress of the United States in extraordinary session.

The Chief Clerk (John C. Crockett) read the proclamation of the President, as follows:

Convening the Congress in Extra Session By the President of the United States of America

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas public interests require that the Congress of the United States should be convened in extraordinary session at 12 o'clock noon, on Thursday, the 21st day of September 1939, to receive such communication as may be made by the Executive;

Now, therefore, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Congress of the United States to convene in extraordinary session at the Capitol in the city of Washington on Thursday, the 21st day

of September 1939, at 12 o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as Members thereof are hereby required to take notice.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the United States.

Done at the city of Washington this 13th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1939, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-fourth.

[SEAL]

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

By the President: CORDELL HULL, Secretary of State.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.
The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.
The legislative clerk (Emery L. Frazier) called the roll, and
the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Davis .	La Follette	Reynolds
Andrews	Donahey	Lee	Schwartz
Ashurst	Downey	Lodge	Schwellenbach
Austin	Ellender	Logan	Sheppard
Bailey	Frazier	Lucas	Shipstead
Barbour	George	Lundeen	Slattery
Barkley	Gerry	McCarran	Smathers
Bilbo	Gibson	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Borah .	Gillette	McNary	Thomas, Utah
Bridges	Glass	Maloney	Tobey
Brown	Green	Miller	Townsend
Bulow	Guffey	Minton	Truman
Burke	Gurney	Murray	Tydings
Byrd	Hale	Neely	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Hatch	Norris	Van Nuys
Capper	Hayden	Nye	Wagner
Caraway	Herring	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Chavez	Hill	Overton	White
Clark, Idaho	Holman	Pepper	Wiley
Clark, Mo.	Holt	Pittman	*******
Connally	Hughes	Radcliffe	
Danaher	Johnson, Calif.	Reed	

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senator from Washington [Mr. Bone] and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Harrison] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. Bankhead], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Johnson], the Senator from Utah [Mr. King], the Senator from New York [Mr. Mead], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Smith], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. Wheeler] are unavoidably detained.

Mr. McKELLAR. I announce that my colleague the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Stewart] is absent because of illness in his family.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-five Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

LIST OF SENATORS BY STATES

Alabama.—John H. Bankhead and Lister Hill. Arizona.—Henry F. Ashurst and Carl Hayden.

Arkansas.-Mrs. Hattie W. Caraway and John E. Miller. California.-Hiram W. Johnson and Sheridan Downey. Colorado.-Alva B. Adams and Edwin C. Johnson. Connecticut.-Francis T. Maloney and John A. Danaher. Delaware.-John G. Townsend, Jr., and James H. Hughes. Florida.—Charles O. Andrews and Claude Pepper. Georgia.-Walter F. George and Richard B. Russell. Idaho.-William E. Borah and D. Worth Clark. Illinois.-Scott W. Lucas and James M. Slattery. Indiana.-Frederick Van Nuys and Sherman Minton. Iowa.-Guy M. Gillette and Clyde L. Herring. Kansas.—Arthur Capper and Clyde M. Reed. Kentucky.-Alben W. Barkley and M. M. Logan. Louisiana.-John H. Overton and Allen J. Ellender. Maine.-Frederick Hale and Wallace H. White, Jr. Maryland.-Millard E. Tydings and George L. Radcliffe. Massachusetts.-David I. Walsh and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. Michigan.—Arthur H. Vandenberg and Prentiss M. Brown. Minnesota.—Henrik Shipstead and Ernest Lundeen. Mississippi.—Pat Harrison and Theodore G. Bilbo. Missouri.-Bennett Champ Clark and Harry S. Truman. Montana.—Burton K. Wheeler and James E. Murray. Nebraska.-George W. Norris and Edward R. Burke. Nevada.-Key Pittman and Patrick A. McCarran. New Hampshire.—Styles Bridges and Charles W. Tobey. New Jersey .- William H. Smathers and W. Warren Barbour. New Mexico.-Carl A. Hatch and Dennis Chavez. New York.-Robert F. Wagner and James M. Mead. North Carolina.-Josiah William Bailey and Robert R. Revnolds.

North Dakota.-Lynn J. Frazier and Gerald P. Nye. Ohio.-Vic Donahey and Robert A. Taft. Oklahoma.-Elmer Thomas and Josh Lee, Oregon.-Charles L. McNary and Rufus C. Holman. Pennsylvania.—James J. Davis and Joseph F. Guffey Rhode Island .- Peter G. Gerry and Theodore Francis Green. South Carolina.—Ellison D. Smith and James F. Byrnes. South Dakota.-W. J. Bulow and Chan Gurney. Tennessee.-Kenneth McKellar and Tom Stewart. Texas.-Morris Sheppard and Tom Connally. Utah .- William H. King and Elbert D. Thomas. Vermont.-Warren R. Austin and Ernest W. Gibson. Virginia.—Carter Glass and Harry Flood Byrd. Washington.-Homer T. Bone and Lewis B. Schwellenbach. West Virginia.-Matthew M. Neely and Rush D. Holt. Wisconsin.-Robert M. La Follette, Jr., and Alexander Wiley. Wyoming .- Joseph C. O'Mahoney and Harry H. Schwartz.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BARKLEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 182), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled and that the Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints as the committee to wait upon the President the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Barkley] and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNary].

NOTIFICATION TO THE HOUSE

Mr. McNARY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 183), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business.

HOUR OF DAILY MEETING

Mr. MINTON submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 184), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the hour of daily meeting of the Senate be 12 o'clock meridian unless otherwise ordered.

DEATH OF FORMER SENATOR LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I announce the death at his home in Florida of Hon. Lawrence Y. Sherman, who was a Senator from the State of Illinois from March 26, 1913, to March 3, 1921. The body of Mr. Sherman has been taken to Effingham, Ill., where he will be buried today.

ADDRESS BY COL. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record a radio address recently delivered by Col. Charles A. Lindbergh.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. PITTMAN. I object.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is made.

RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, because of the necessary routine involved in organizing the House of Representatives for the session and the time required to call the roll and adopt the usual resolutions incident to the first meeting of the session, there is nothing for the Senate to do at the moment except to recess until the House shall have gone through that routine, and sent to the Senate a resolution which is in contemplation. Therefore I move that the Senate take a recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess, subject to the call of the

Chair

At 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m. the Senate, called to order by the Vice President, reassembled.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, informed the Senate that a quorum of the House of Representatives had assembled and that the House was ready to proceed with business.

The message also informed the Senate that a committee of three Members had been appointed by the Speaker, on the part of the House of Representatives, to join with the committee on the part of the Senate to notify the President of the United States that a quorum of each House had assembled and that Congress was ready to receive any communication that he might be pleased to make, and that the Speaker had appointed Mr. RAYBURN, Mr. DOUGHTON, and Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts the members of the committee on the part of the House of Representatives.

The message announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 36) providing for the holding of a joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Thursday, the 21st day of September 1939, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. McNARY advanced to the center aisle, and

Mr. BARKLEY said: Mr. President, the committee appointed by the Vice President to notify the President of the United States that the Senate is in session has discharged that duty. The President advised the committee that he would communicate with the two branches of the Congress at a joint session to be held later today.

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 36) of the House of Representatives, which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Thursday, the 21st day of September 1939, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

PETITION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the petition of the Baptist Ministers' Conference of Washington, D. C.,

praying that the two Houses of Congress hold a joint session on Sunday afternoon, September 24, 1939, to be led by the Chaplains of the two Houses, for the purpose of seeking Divine guidance in the national crisis, which was ordered to lie on the table.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. MINTON. I suggest the absence of a quorum.
The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.
The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Davis	La Follette	Reynolds
Andrews	Donahev	Lee	Schwartz
Ashurst	Downey	Lodge	Schwellenbach
Austin	Ellender	Logan	Sheppard
Bailey	Frazier	Lucas	Shipstead
Barbour	George	Lundeen	Slattery
Barkley	Gerry	McCarran	Smathers
Bilbo	Gibson	McKellar	Thomas, Okla.
Borah	Gillette	McNary	Thomas, Utah
Bridges	Glass	Maloney	Tobey
Brown	Green	Miller	Townsend
Bulow	Guffey	Minton	Truman
Burke	Gurney	Murray	Tydings
Byrd	Hale	Neely	Vandenberg
Byrnes	Hatch	Norris	Van Nuys
Capper	Hayden	Nye	Wagner
Caraway	Herring	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Chavez	Hill	Overton	White
Clark, Idaho	Holman	Pepper	Wiley
Clark, Mo.	Holt	Pittman	
Connally	Hughes	Radcliffe	
Danaher	Johnson, Calif.	Reed	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-five Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I am advised by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Pittman], the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, that he has called a meeting of that committee for 10:30 o'clock a. m. on Saturday next to consider various bills on the subject of neutrality or embargo pending before it. There are some five or six such bills pending before the committee, and the chairman thought it advisable to give that much time in order that members of the committee might study the various proposals. That is why the meeting of the committee was called for Saturday instead of tomorrow.

Under those circumstances it is obvious that the Senate cannot embark upon the consideration of the subject this week. Therefore I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the joint session of the two Houses soon to be held the Senate shall stand adjourned until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. CONNALLY. Reserving the right to object, I ask whether the unanimous-consent request contemplates that the Senate shall adjourn while it is in the other House?

Mr. BARKLEY. It contemplates an order of adjournment now to take effect at the conclusion of the joint session.

Mr. CONNALLY. I object. I think the Senate should come back to its Chamber and adjourn. In my judgment, it is not in keeping with the dignity of the Senate to adjourn as suggested. It seems to me to be very poor practice for the Senate to go over to the other House, and then when the joint session is concluded to dissolve. The Senate should come back to its Chamber and adjourn.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no objection to that course.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will say that if the Senator from Kentucky should make a motion to that effect it would not be debatable and would have to be decided by a majority vote.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no objection to returning to the Senate Chamber in a body and then adjourning. I thought it might serve the convenience of Senators to make the order now, but I do not care to insist upon it. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives in accordance with the concurrent resolution just adopted, and that immediately upon the conclusion of the proceedings of the joint session the Senate return to its Chamber.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I do not rise for the purpose of objecting to the request, which is quite a natural one. I wonder if the statement of the Senator with respect to returning to the Chamber on Monday implies that there will be some work for the Senate at that time.

Mr. BARKLEY. I will say to the Senator that I do not know. It will depend upon the action taken by the Committee on Foreign Relations. If the Committee on Foreign Relations shall not have reported a bill upon this subject by that time, the only object of meeting on Monday will be to comply with the constitutional requirement and then act accordingly on that day. No other business will be considered on Monday, if that is what the Senator has in mind.

Mr. McNARY. That is precisely what I have in mind. Does the Senator expect that the committee will be ready to report to the Senate on Monday?

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no information upon which I can base an opinion. I do not know.

Mr. McNARY. Then, Mr. President, I think I may well assume that if the committee shall not have reported a neutrality bill or some measure of that kind, the Senate will adjourn on Monday until another day.

Mr. BARKLEY. Under the circumstances suggested, it will adjourn forthwith on Monday until another day subsequent thereto.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator suggested that when the committee meets it is to consider previously introduced legislation on this subject. Does that remark indicate that no new legislation is to be introduced pending the meeting of the committee?

Mr. BARKLEY. No. I merely remarked that some five or six bills were pending and that Members would desire to familiarize themselves with those bills between now and the time of the committee meeting, that fact being responsible for the postponement of the committee meeting until Saturday instead of tomorrow. However, that does not preclude any Member from introducing new bills on the subject and having them considered by the committee.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is not introducing any new legislation at the present time?

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not.

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky? The Chair hears none, and the Senate will proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The Senate, preceded by the Sergeant at Arms (Chesley W. Jurney), the Secretary (Edwin A. Halsey), and the Vice President, proceeded to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The address by the President of the United States, this day delivered at a joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress, is printed on page 10 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

ADJOURNMENT PROCEDURE

The Senate having returned to its Chamber (at 2 o'clock and 47 minutes p. m.), the Vice President resumed the chair.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn until——

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield? Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. I shall say only a few words. I wish the Senate to understand that the objection which I made to adjourning at the conclusion of the ceremonies in the other House was not made because of any pique. I merely think it is better procedure, following traditional practice, for the Senate to return to its Chamber before adjourning. I wish to say to the majority leader that I had no desire to annoy or embarrass anybody. This whole affair is more or less in the nature of a solemn ceremony, and I think it is more appropriate that the Senate return to its Chamber before adjourning.

Mr. BARKLEY. I fully appreciate the Senator's view about the matter.

ADDRESS BY COL. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President-

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Kentucky yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, this extraordinary session of the Congress was called to consider the international situation and America's safety and freedom from participation in the war. I wish to read to the Senate an address delivered by Col. Charles A. Lindbergh stating his position and what I believe to be the point of view of countless millions in this country, and to have it included in the Record at this point.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, at the time the Senator made his request earlier in the day the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Pittman] objected on the ground that, as a courtesy to the President, no action of any kind should be taken until the joint session was over and the President had delivered

his message.

So far as I am concerned, there will be no objection to the Senator including the speech in the Record at this time if he desires so to do. I am sure I speak for the Senator from Nevada as well.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. I will say to the Senator that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who made the objection, is not now present in the Chamber. Therefore, I shall have to object until he shall return and be consulted. If he shall agree to it, I shall have no objection.

Mr. BARKLEY. I will say to the Senator from Texas that the Senator from Nevada talked to me about the matter and said that he had no objection after the conclusion of the formalities of the joint session.

Mr. CONNALLY. Very well. I merely wished to protect the interests of the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. HAYDEN. As chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing, I should like to make an observation with respect to printing extraneous matter in the Congressional Record.

A Senator reads a very able editorial in some newspaper in his State. At the moment it interests him. It expresses his point of view, and he asks unanimous consent that it be printed in the Congressional Record. Other Senators do the same thing; and newspaper articles, radio addresses, and other expressions of views are included in the Record to an extent which, in the aggregate, costs a large sum of money, as the printing of one page in the Congressional Record involves an expense of \$45.

In the instance which the Senator has in mind I have no doubt that the opinion expressed by Colonel Lindbergh reflects the views of the Senator. On the other hand, it may be that the article written by Dorothy Thompson in reply to Colonel Lindbergh very closely expresses the views of some other Senator. I suppose we shall have Miss Thompson's article inserted in the RECORD, and then a rejoinder by some other able columnist and a surrejoinder by someone else. Thus, we shall have printed in the RECORD a vast volume of matter by way of editorial expression, by way of radio addresses, and by way of speeches made in other places. It seems to me that a little consideration and a little thought by Senators would save substantial sums of money to the Public Treasury. I am sure that no evil would come from leaving many words out of the Congressional Record however well the ideas and arguments may be expressed.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Arizona that I stand squarely with him on the grounds of economy and keeping down Government expense. I served for 6 years in the House of Representatives, and have served in this body for 1 year. I am looking forward to my future service in this body. I have never heard the suggestion made

so strongly as the Senator has now put it. We have lived here month after month together, and many matters certainly extraneous have been put into the Record by many Senators. This address is not extraneous. We are told by the Executive that we confront a great national crisis. He calls it an emergency. Here is one clear voice in America, the voice of one whose patriotism cannot be challenged, whose ability is unquestioned in the thought of this country, and whose character and courage are recognized by all. He makes a speech to the American people setting forth his views. I believe this body can do no finer service to the people of America than to allow the speech to be published in the Record at this point, that they may know where this eminent citizen stands. His address will make a strong appeal, especially to the youth of our Nation.

Mr. HAYDEN. When printed in the Congressional Record the remarks of Colonel Lindbergh will appear in such fine type that one would require glasses to read them. His address was broadcast to the Nation. It has been published in every important newspaper in America. After it shall have been printed in the Record I doubt whether any substantial number of people will ever read it. Publishing a speech or article in the Record is a compliment Senators sometimes pay to certain persons. Some people seem to think it is a distinction to have something which they wrote published in the

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

So far as the remarks of Colonel Lindbergh are concerned, I myself can find no criticism of them. That is not the point I make. Unfortunately, the colonel did not tell us how to keep out of war. The speech of Colonel Lindbergh reflects the views of the Senator from New Hampshire; and if the Senator wants to honor the colonel by publishing his radio address in the Record, I have no objection. I merely ask Senators, when they have a sudden urge to print in the Record something that appears to them at the moment to be important, to think the matter over before yielding to the impulse and to always bear in mind that the cost of their request to print will be a charge upon the Federal Treasury.

Mr. TOBEY. I will say to the Senator from Arizona that if this message cost 10 times the figure he has indicated I think the money would be well invested, when compared with some of the matter which has gone into the Congressional Record during the past 6 years to my knowledge.

I again ask unanimous consent that this address be in-

serted in the RECORD at this point.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I wish to state that prior to the joint session I objected to the request of the Senator to publish Colonel Lindbergh's speech. I did so not because I have any objection to the speech, nor because I have any objection to any speech by a prominent man being published in the Record, no matter what view he takes. However, I again state that it has been the custom of the Senate, since its first session, after its organization to notify the President of the United States, in conjunction with the House of Representatives, that the Congress is in session and ready to receive any message the President may see fit to submit to it. That has always been the practice. It is a courtesy which I believe the legislative body owes to the Executive, if not an obligation strongly intimated by the Constitution of the United States.

I say this because, in the first place, I do not want the Senator from New Hampshire to conceive that I intended any discourtesy toward him or any other Senator, or that I had any objection to the character of the speech of Colonel

Lindbergh. I make no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire? The Chair hears none, and the address will be printed in the RECORD.

The address is as follows:

[From the New York Times of September 16, 1939] LINDBERGH'S APPEAL FOR ISOLATION

Washington, September 15.—Following is the text of the radio speech by Colonel Lindbergh:

"In times of great emergency men of the same belief must gather together for mutual counsel and action. If they fail to do this, all

that they stand for will be lost. I speak tonight to those people in the United States of America who feel that the destiny of this country does not call for our involvement in European wars.

"We must band together to prevent the loss of more American lives in these internal struggles of Europe. We must keep foreign propaganda from pushing our country blindly into another war. Modern war, with all its consequences, is too tragic and too devastating to be approached from anything but a purely American standpoint. We should never enter a war unless it is absolutely essential to the future welfare of our Nation.

"This country was colonized by men and women from Europe. The hatreds, the persecutions, the intrigues they left behind gave them courage to cross the Atlantic Ocean to a new land. They preferred the wilderness and the Indians to the problems of Europe. They weighed the cost of freedom from those problems, and they paid the price. In this country they eventually found a means of living peacefully together—the same nationalities that are fighting abroad today.

"POINTS TO MONROE DOCTRINE

"The quarrels of Europe faded out from American life as generations passed. Instead of wars between the English, French, and Germans, it became a struggle of the New World for freedom from the old—a struggle for the right of America to find her own destiny.

the old—a struggle for the right of America to find her own destiny. The colonization of this country grew from European troubles and our freedom sprang from European war; for we won independence from England while she was fighting France.

"No one foresaw the danger ahead of us more clearly than George Washington. He solemnly warned the people of America against becoming entangled in European alliances. For over 100 years his advice was followed. We established the Monroe Doctrine for America. We let other nations fight among themselves. Then in 1917 we entered a European war. This time we were on England's side, and so were France and Russia. Friends and enemies reverse as decades pass—as political doctrines rise and fall.

"PREMAINS WORLD WAR LOSSES

"RECALLS WORLD WAR LOSSES

"The great war ended before our full force had reached the field. We escaped with the loss of relatively few soldiers. We measured our dead in thousands. Europe measured hers in millions. Europe has not yet recovered from the effects of this war and she has already enacted another. A generation has passed since the armistic of 1918, but even in America we are still paying for our part in that victory—and we will continue to pay for another generation. European countries were both unable and unwilling to pay their debts to us.

"Now that war has broken out again, we in America have a decision to make on which the destiny of our Nation depends. We must decide whether or not we intend to become forever involved

must decide whether or not we intend to become forever involved in this age-old struggle between the nations of Europe.

"Let us not delude ourselves. If we enter the quarrels of Europe during war, we must stay in them in time of peace as well. It is madness to send our soldiers to be killed as we did in the last war if we turn the course of peace over to the greed, the fear, and the intrigue of European nations. We must either keep out of European wars entirely or stay in European affairs permenently. manently.

"WOULD PUT ASIDE PITY

"In making our decision, this point should be clear: These wars "In making our decision, this point should be clear: These wars in Europe are not wars in which our civilization is defending itself against some Asiatic intruder. There is no Genghis Khan nor Kerxes marching against our Western nations. This is not a question of banding together to defend the white race against foreign invasion. This is simply one more of those age-old quarrels within our own family of nations—a quarrel arising from the errors of the last war—from the failure of the victors of that war to follow accessive to polyeouth the consistent polyeouther of failures or of forces.

of the last war—from the fallure of the victors of that war to follow a consistent policy either of fairness or of force.

"Arbitrary boundaries can be maintained only by strength of arms. The Treaty of Versailles either had to be revised as time passed or England and France, to be successful, had to keep Germany weak by force. Neither policy was followed—Europe wavered back and forth between the two. As a result, another war has begun—a war which is likely to be far more prostrating than the last; a war which will again kill off the best youth of Europe; a war which may even lead to the end of our Western civilization.

We must not permit our sentiment, our pity, or our personal feelings of sympathy, to obscure the issue, to affect our children's lives. We must be as impersonal as a surgeon with his knife. Let us make no mistake about the cost of entering this war. If we take part successfully, we must throw the resources of our entire Nation into the conflict. Munitions alone will not be enough.

"LITTLE TO GAIN" HE SAYS

"LITTLE TO GAIN" HE SAYS

"We cannot count on victory merely by shipping abroad several thousand airplanes and cannon. We are likely to lose a million men, possibly several million—the best of American youth. We will be staggering under the burden of recovery during the rest of our lives. And our children will be fortunate if they see the end in their lives, even if, by some unlikely chance, we do not pass on another Polish Corridor to them. Democracy itself may not survive. If we enter fighting for democracy abroad we may end by losing If we enter fighting for democracy abroad, we may end by losing

if we either lighting for definition it at home.

"America has little to gain by taking part in another European war. We must not be misguided by this foreign propaganda to the effect that our frontiers lie in Europe. One need only glance at a map to see where our true frontiers lie. What more could we ask than the Atlantic Ocean on the east and the Pacific on the west?

No; our interests in Europe need not be from the standpoint of defense. Our own natural frontiers are enough for that. If we extend them to the center of Europe, we might as well extend them around the earth. An ocean is a formidable barrier, even for

"Our safety does not lie in fighting European wars. It lies in our own internal strength, in the character of the American people and of American institutions. As long as we maintain an Army, a Navy, and an air force worthy of the name, as long as America does not decay within, we need fear no invasion of this country.

"ASSERTS MUCH NEWS IS COLORED

"Again, I address those among you who agree with this stand. Our future and our children's future depend upon the action we take. It is essential to think clearly and to act quickly in the days which are to come. We will be deluged with propaganda, both foreign and domestic—some obvious, some insidious. Much of our news is already colored. Every incident and every accident will be seized upon to influence us. And in a modern war there are bound to be plenty of both. We must learn to look behind every article we read and every speech we hear. We must not only inquire about the writer and the speaker—about his personal interests and his nationality—but we must ask who owns and who influences the newspaper, the news picture, and the radio station. If our people know the truth, if they are fully and accurately informed, if they are not misled by propaganda, this country is not likely to enter the war now going on in Europe.

"And if Europe is again prostrated by war, as she has been so often in the past, then the greatest hope for our western civilization lies in America. By staying out of war ourselves, we may even bring peace to Europe more quickly.

"Let us look to our own defense and to our own character. If we attend to them, we have no need to fear what happens elsewhere.

attend to them, we have no need to fear what happens elsewhere. If we do not attend to them, nothing can save us.

"If war brings more dark ages to Europe, we can better preserve "If war brings more dark ages to Europe, we can better preserve those things which we love and which we mourn the passing of in Europe today by preserving them here, by strengthening them here, rather than by hurling ourselves thoughtlessly to their defense over there and thus destroying all in the conflagration. The German genius for science and organization, the English genius for government and commerce, the French genius for living and understanding of life—they must not go down here as well as on the other side. Here in America they can be blended to form the greatest genius of all genius of all.

"The gift of civilized life must still be carried on. It is more important than the sympathies, the friendships, the desires of any single generation. This is the test before America now. This is

the challenge-to carry on western civilization."

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 56 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, September 25, 1939, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1939

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker, Hon. WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the proclamation of the President of the United States convening this extraordinary session of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

The Clerk read as follows:

CONVENING THE CONGRESS IN EXTRA SESSION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas public interests require that the Congress of the United States should be convened in extraordinary session at 12 o'clock noon, on Thursday, the 21st day of September, 1939, to receive such communication as may be made by the Executive: Now, therefore,

I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Congress of the United States to convene in extraordinary session at the Capitol in the City of Washington on Thursday, the 21st day of September, 1939, at 12 o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as Members thereof are hereby required to take notice.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the United States.